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ABSTRACT

Noting that the study of communication in political settings is an increasingly popular and important area of teaching and research in many disciplines, this 51-item annotated bibliography reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the field and is designed to incorporate varying approaches to the subject matter. With few exceptions, the books and journal articles included in the annotated bibliography are drawn from the 1950-84 period, reflecting the dominant role of mass media, particularly television, in the political process. (RS)

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COMMUNICATION AND POLITICS

A Selected, Annotated Bibliography

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The study of communication in political settings is an increasingly popular and important area of teach-
ing and research in many disciplines. This brief bibliography reflects the interdisciplinary nature of
the field and is designed to incorporate varying approaches to the subject matter, including works by
political professionals as well as scholars. With few exceptions, the entries are drawn from the 1950-
84 period and thus reflect the dominant role of mass media, particularly television, in the political
process.

Alexander, Herbert E. Financing Politics: Money, Elections, and Political Reform. 3rd ed. Washington,
D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984. The author traces the growth of money as a factor in
elections. Concentrating on presidential campaigns, the book documents contribution sources and
expenditures from 1860 through 1980 and breaks expenditures down into costs for specific types of
campaign communications.

Atkin, Charles K., et al. "Quality versus Quantity in Televised Political Ads." Public Opinion Quarterly,
37 (1973), 209-24. Relying on a survey of voter exposure to television commercials in gubernatorial
campaigns, the authors suggest that frequency of advertising can overcome selective exposure but that
quality of attention is more important to learning than frequency of exposure.

Atkin, Charles K. "Communication and Political Socialization," Political Communication Review, 1 (Summer,
1975), 2-6. The author reviews early perspectives on political socialization and then describes more
recent research indicating the increasing importance of mass communication as an agent of political
socialization of children.

Blumler, Jay G., and McQuail, Denis. Television and Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
1969. This volume describes the methods and conclusions of an investigation of the role of television
in the 1964 British general election. A major finding was that television helped increase the popu-
larity of the Liberal Party.

Bormann, Ernest G.; Kroll, Becky Swanson; Watters, Kathleen; and McFarland, Douglas. "Rhetorical Visions
of Committed Voters: Fantasy Theme Analysis of a Large Sample Survey," Critical Studies in Mass
Communication, 1 (1984), 287-310. This study extends research using fantasy theme analysis by using a
large sample survey to investigate the transferral of fantasies of media and candidates to the public.

Campbell, Angus, et al. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960. This landmark work
developed the Survey Research Center's well-known model of voting behavior. Although communication
variables do not receive much attention in the work, the findings are central to political communica-
tion research and theory.

Chaffee, Steven H. (ed). Political Communication. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975. A collection
of original essays on many aspects of political communication, this book is especially helpful in
identifying topics and techniques for research.

Devlin, L. Patrick. "Contrasts in Presidential Campaign Commercials of 1976," Central States Speech
Journal, 28 (1977), 238-49. The 1976 television commercials of Ford and Carter are compared, analyzed
and evaluated. ERIC EJ 177 465

DeVries, Walter, and Tarrance, V. Lance. The Ticket-Splitter. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerd-
mans Publishing Co., 1972. In this book, based on extensive survey research, the authors describe
the heavy reliance of ticket-splitters on the mass media, particularly television news shows.

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- Garramone, Gina M. "Issue versus Image Orientation and Effects of Political Advertising," Communication Research, 10 (1983), 59-76. In this study of the connection between motives and effects, the author finds that subjects instructed to watch political ads for particular reasons differed in their attention to and learning from the ads.
- Gold, Ellen Reid. "Political Apologia: The Ritual of Self-Defense," Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 306-16. This work describes the techniques and strategies used by politicians to defend themselves against attacks. ERIC EJ 201 008
- Graber, Doris A. Mass Media and American Politics. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1984. This book investigates topics such as media as institutions in the political system, the effects of news on individuals, the impact of media on a variety of political situations, and the trends in media policy.
- Graber, Doris A. "Press and TV as Opinion Resources in Presidential Campaigns," Public Opinion Quarterly, 40 (1976), 285-303. Content analysis of the coverage of the 1972 presidential campaign by newspapers and TV indicates that neither devotes much time or space to substantive issues, concentrating instead on campaign activities.
- Hart, Roderick P. Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis. Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984. Using a computerized analysis of presidential discourse, the author traces and compares the public speaking patterns of presidents from Truman through Reagan. The effects of mass media on speaking styles and the implications of patterns identified by the study are analyzed in terms of the nature of the presidency.
- Hofstetter, C. Richard. Bias in the News: Network Television Coverage of the 1972 Election Campaign. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976. This extensive study relies on content analysis to determine the extent of bias in network news coverage of the 1976 campaign, finding little political bias to be present.
- Jamieson, Kathleen. Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984. This book is a critical analysis of advertising techniques used by presidential candidates. Data are provided by examination of historical campaign materials, written accounts of campaign activities, and interviews with campaign consultants and advisors.
- Joslyn, Richard A. "The Content of Political Spot Ads," Journalism Quarterly, 57 (1980), 92-98. This article reports a content analysis of political television ads and reveals that political TV ads have considerable substantive content. ERIC EJ 227 684
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Sanders, Keith R. "Political Television Commercials: An Experimental Study of Type and Length," Communication Research, 5 (January, 1978), 57-70. This study compares the type (issue or image) and length (5-minute or 60-second) of political television commercials on candidate evaluation, recall of commercial content and likelihood of voting for the candidate. ERIC EJ 183 076
- Kaid, Lynda Lee; Sanders, Keith R.; and Hirsch, Robert O. Political Campaign Communication: A Bibliography and Guide to the Literature. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974. A comprehensive reference work on political campaign communication, this book contains over 1500 bibliographic entries, annotations of important books, a supplement of French and German sources and a guide to the literature.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Wadsworth, Anne Johnston. Political Campaign Communication: A Bibliography and Guide to the Literature, 1973-1982. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1985. This bibliography lists 2,461 entries on political campaign communication in the U.S., updating the 1974 volume. It also contains a review of the best reference sources in the field.
- Kraus, Sidney, (ed). The Great Debates. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1962. This collection of essays and research reports was published in response to the four debates between Nixon and Kennedy in 1960. The best available texts of the debates are also printed in this book.
- Kraus, Sidney, (ed). The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979. This book includes a number of essays covering the setting, impact, and other aspects of the 1976 debates.

- Lazarsfeld, Paul F.; Berelson, Bernard; and Gaudet, Hazel. The People's Choice. New York: Euell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944. Among findings of this study of the 1940 presidential campaign were the identification of opinion leaders, existence of selective exposure, and the conclusion that high interest in the campaign results in high exposure to propaganda.
- McCombs, Maxwell. "Agenda-Setting Research: A Bibliographic Essay," Political Communication Review, 1 (Summer, 1976), 1-7. The author reviews the empirical evidence for agenda-setting of the mass media and analyzes the theoretical models upon which future research may be based.
- McCombs, Maxwell, and Shaw, Donald L. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 (1972), 176-87. The high correlation found between issues stressed by the media during a presidential campaign and issues viewed as important by voters formed the basis for the agenda-setting model of mass communication effects.
- Miller, Arthur H.; Goldenberg, Edie N.; and Erbring, Lutz. "Type-Set Politics: Impact of Newspapers on Public Confidence," American Political Science Review, 73 (March, 1979), 67-84. This study analyzes newspaper coverage of the president and finds a relationship between such coverage and the president's level of popularity.
- Minow, Newton; Martin, John Bartlow; and Mitchell, Lee M. Presidential Television. New York: Basic Books, 1973. One of the first attempts to document presidential dominance of the news, this book argues that presidential access to television has far-reaching effects on the American political system.
- Napolitan, Joseph. The Election Game and How to Win It. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972. A well-known campaign manager, Napolitan fills this book with interesting analyses of electronic campaign techniques, while maintaining that television can, in fact, win elections.
- Nimmo, Dan. "Political Communication Theory and Research: An Overview," Communication Yearbook I, ed. Brent D. Ruben. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1977, 441-52. The author traces the emergence of political communication as a field of study and reviews major works in the field in terms of political communicators, messages, media, audiences, effects, and methodologies.
- Nimmo, Dan. The Political Persuaders. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970. A widely-used text on political persuasion, this well-documented book was one of the first to describe the influence of modern campaign techniques on elections.
- Nimmo, Dan, and Combs, James. Mediated Political Realities. New York: Longman, 1983. This book analyzes the ways in which political realities are mediated through news reporting, election campaigns, films and popular magazines, and popular culture.
- Nimmo, Dan D., and Sanders, Keigh R. (eds.). Handbook of Political Communication. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981. An extensive survey of the work in the area, this handbook includes sections on theoretical approaches to the study of political communication, persuasive communication in political communication settings, and methods of study.
- Paletz, David L., and Entman, Robert M. Media Power Politics. NY: The Free Press, 1981. This book looks at the effects of the interaction between media institutions and powerholders, as well as the effects that the media have on the public.
- Patterson, Thomas E., and McClure, Robert D. The Unseeing Eye: The Myth of Television Power in National Elections. NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1976. Based on an extensive study of the 1972 presidential election, the authors found television news to be deficient in communicating information to voters. Contrary to popular expectations, television commercials actually provide voters with more meaningful information than does television news.
- Robinson, Michael J. "Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of the Selling of the Pentagon," American Political Science Review, 70 (June, 1976), 409-32. An experimental study of the CBS documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon," coupled with Survey Research Center data, concluded that there is a relationship between television viewing and political inefficacy.
- Sanders, Keith R., and Kaid, Lynda Lee. "Political Communication Theory and Research: An Overview 1976-77," Communication Yearbook II, ed. Brent D. Ruben. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1978, 375-89. Following on Nimmo's overview in Communication Yearbook I, the authors review and analyze the major political communication research in terms of political sources, messages, channels, audiences, and methods.

- Sanders, Keith R.; Kaid, Lynda Lee; and Nimmo, Dan. Political Communication Yearbook, 1984. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985. This first issue of the annual yearbook includes articles on research and perspectives in spiral of silence, computers and political communication, as well as other articles on the dimensions of political communication.
- Schwartz, Tony. The Responsive Chord. Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1973. The philosophy of electronic communication developed by Schwartz relies heavily on McLuhan, but the book's major contribution is its fascinating discussion of political advertising.
- Sears, David O., and Whitney, Richard E. "Political Persuasion," Handbook of Communication, ed. Ithiel de Sola Pool, et al. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973, 253-89. A broad survey of political persuasion, this helpful literature review encompasses political propaganda, mass media influence, political socialization, selective exposure and perception, and positivity biases in evaluating political figures. Good bibliography is provided.
- Simons, Herbert W.; Chesebro, James W.; and Orr, C. Jack. "A Movement Perspective on the 1972 Presidential Campaign," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59 (1973), 163-79. This approach to the 1972 election considers the McGovern campaign as a social movement and analyzes alternative strategies which might have been employed.
- Swanson, David. "The New Politics Meets the Old Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58 (1972), 31-40. Swanson outlines major assumptions of the "new politics" of campaigning and criticizes the potential of traditional communication and voting behavior studies to contribute to greater understanding. Suggestions for future approaches are made. ERIC EJ 056 096
- Tiemens, Robert K. "Television's Portrayal of the 1976 Presidential Debates: An Analysis of Visual Content," Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 362-70. Content analysis of the 1976 debates in terms of camera shots indicated that Carter benefited from camera framing and composition, camera angles and reaction shots. ERIC EJ 201 011
- Trent, Judith, and Friedenber, Robert V. Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices. NY: Praeger Publishers, 1983. This volume describes the various communication processes during a political campaign, such as communicative styles and strategies, role of mass media, public speaking, interpersonal communication, and the function of debates.
- Weaver, David H.; Graber, Doris A.; McCombs, Maxwell E.; and Eyal, Chaim H. Media Agenda-Setting in a Presidential Election. NY: Praeger Publishers, 1981. This book presents an investigation of the agenda-setting effect during a presidential campaign. It explores the differences between interpersonal and community agendas, the differences among interest, issue, and image agendas, and it uses an extended time period of an entire election year to study the effects.

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